UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

Preach to the Heathen!

By P. M. MATTHÉEFF

Dry Rot

By SAMUEL MARION LOWDEN

Public Opinion Outlaws War

By Hon. WILLIAM E. BORAH

My Jail Experiences

By M. K. GANDHI

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIV THURSDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1924 NUMBER 3

YOUR AFTERSELF

A Call to Young Men.

Your first duty in life is toward *your afterself.* So live that the man you ought to be may in his time be possible, be actual.

Far away in the years he is waiting his turn. His body, his brain, his soul, are in your boyish hands. He cannot help himself.

What will you leave for him?

Will it be a brain unspoiled by lust or dissipation; a mind trained to think and act; a nervous system true as a dial in its response to the truth about you? Will you, Boy, let him come as a man among men in his time?

Or will you throw away his inheritance before he has had the chance to touch it? Will you turn over to him a brain distorted, a mind diseased, a will untrained to action, a spinal cord grown through and through with the devil-grass, wild oats?

Will you let him come and take your place, gaining through your experience, happy in your friendships, hallowed through your joys, building on them his own?

Or will you fling it all away, decreeing, wantonlike, that the man you might have been shall never be?

This is your problem in life—the problem which is vastly more to you than any or all others. How will you meet it, as a man or as a fool? It comes before you today and every day, and the hour of your choice is the crisis in your destiny!

—David Starr Jordan.

We occasionally find amusement and profit in reading the financial columns of the newspapers, and especially the reports and forecasts which are regularly published here and there for the guidance of banks, business houses, chambers of commerce, rotary clubs, etc. The scanning of these pages, intended for a highly specialized public and not for the common people at all, proves anew that truth is often found in strange places. In Boston, there is a little sheet called *The Monthly Forecast,* published by Thomas Gibson. The other day the issue, dated August 15th, chanced to fall into our hands. In this issue there was an article devoted to "The Political Situation," in which appeared this highly interesting statement:

> There is no great objection to John W. Davis in financial or business quarters. *He is considered a conservative and safe man* in spite of his vigorous political denunciations and declamations. (Italics ours!)

Here is thundering from Sinai itself in confirmation of our judgment that there is no essential difference of any kind between the Republican and Democratic leaders. Mr. Gibson and his readers want Coolidge re-elected—this is the sure guarantee of the *status quo* which serves their selfish interests so wonderfully. But they can view the possibility of Coolidge being defeated and succeeded by Davis with entire equanimity. The change won't make any change at all! One name will come down and another go up, but business will continue "as usual." It is edifying to set this statement of perfectly obvious fact over against the desperate efforts being made by the New York *World,* and the Democratic Party generally, to prove that John W. Davis is a liberal of the most advanced type. By mid-October, he will undoubtedly be a radical, perhaps even a "red"! But it is no go! "In spite of his (own) vigorous political denunciations and declamations," in spite of the wild asseverations of his supporters, the Democratic standard-bearer remains, and will remain, exactly what he is.

In all discussions of international courts, arbitration and the rest, we have always contended that nothing was worth considering at all except universal and absolute application of the judicial principle. We have been laughed at for this ever since we can remember, and been taught, as from the pages of an A-B-C book, that national sovereignty will not permit of arbitration in all cases of dispute between nations. Questions of honor and vital interest must of course be excluded. We recall hearing Mr. Taft make elaborate distinction between what he called "justiciable and non-justiciable disputes," and declare that it is the former alone that can be arbitrated. To which we have always replied that "non-justiciable disputes" are to be defined as the very disputes which involve the menace of war, and that, if these cannot be submitted to a court for decision, then war as the arbitrament of arms cannot be abolished! It is from this viewpoint that we have been enormously interested in the speeches at the League of Nations meeting at Geneva on the disarmament and arbitration question. It looks as though the silly and shallow distinction between "justiciable and non-justiciable disputes" were at last going where it belongs—into the ash-can. Thus the so-called "American Plan" submitted to the League in the form of a Draft Treaty makes arbitration compulsory and penalizes as a criminal aggressor any nation which refuses to come before the court. M. Matsuda, speaking for Japan, expressed the decisive opinion that, to obtain peace, it would be necessary for every nation to accept the international court as a means of settling all disputes "even

those involving vital interests and honor." Of tremendous import was Premier MacDonald's declaration that Britain was ready to submit "all disputes" to judicial procedure. At last it begins to appear as though common-sense were coming into international counsels. Let the League do something along these lines, and the Covenant may be worth the paper it is written on.

There was a debate at the recent Williamstown Institute of Politics on Soviet Russia which may be taken as a perfect symbol of all the talking and writing that has been done on this subject in this country in the last seven years. On one side of the debate were Dr. Boris Bakhmeteff, former Russian ambassador in Washington, and Mr. John Spargo, former Socialist and now chief apologist for stand-pattism and reaction. Neither one of these men had been any nearer to Bolshevik Russia than some five thousand (5,000) miles or more, and of course they denounced the Soviets in unmeasured terms. No good can come out of Moscow, was the burden of their message. On the other side, in favor of the Bolsheviki, were—who? First, Mr. Antonius Piip, Esthonian minister to the United States. Esthonia, it may be said, is a border state of the Soviet country, and of course has intimate relations with her. On the basis of these relations Mr. Piip declared that "five years of diplomatic intercourse between Soviet Russia and the Baltic states had convinced him that the present Soviet government was profoundly interested in maintaining peace and that it is really pursuing a peace policy." A second speaker was Col. William N. Haskell, chief of the American Relief Mission to Russia from 1921 to 1923, who had "camped," he said, "inside and on the edge of Russia for the last five or six years, and (had) come in contact with both Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik leaders." Having been on the spot, Col. Haskell found it easy to refute the wild charges of Dr. Bakhmeteff and Mr. Spargo, stating that Russian life was not so much different from that in other countries, and "much better than during the czarist regime." He specifically advocated a conference between the United States and Russia looking toward the recognition of Soviet government. (Respectfully referred to Mr. Hughes!) Other speakers were Arthur Ruhl and Elmer G. Burland, both of whom had been associated with the American Relief Administration in Russia, and both of whom vigorously supported Col. Haskell. The significance of this debate is apparent. Stay tight at home, feed on propaganda, cultivate prejudice, conjure up fears—and at once you become an authority on what monsters the Bolsheviki are! Go to Russia, see the Bolsheviki and what they are actually doing—and you find that they are human after all!

The publication of the last of Gandhi's papers on "My Jail Experiences" marks the close of the most remarkable series of articles that has ever appeared in these columns. UNITY has reproduced them exactly as they have appeared in Gandhi's own organ, *Young India,* and thus has performed a service unmatched by any other American magazine. The numbers containing these papers, if no others from our files, will be remembered, cherished and carefully preserved. The articles are remarkable, it seems to us, in at least three ways. In the first place, they reveal the unjust, inhuman and frequently iniquitous conditions which prevail in our modern prison system. Indian jails are apparently much like those in America and elsewhere. Again and again it was astonishing to find Gandhi describing methods and practices all too familiar in our own country! Much progress has been made in prison administration, we have no doubt, but conditions are still such as to stir in every understanding heart profound emotions of pity and indignation. Secondly, these articles are valuable for the enlightening suggestions offered by Gandhi for constructive prison reform. We doubt if in our time there has appeared a shrewder, wiser, more humane study of the prison problem from the standpoint of its possible regeneration. It is almost unique in the fact that it comes not from an outsider trying imaginatively to see the situation as it is, but from one who has been himself behind the bars and thus knows the problem at first hand. Lastly, the articles are infinitely precious as fresh revelations of the soul of the Mahatma. Here is a man arrested and terribly punished by the alien rulers of his native land—and we search his testimony in vain for any single word of resentment, anger, hatred, or revenge. On the contrary, all is serenity, courage, unfailing kindness, overflowing goodwill and generosity. Here is a man who in our own time loves his enemies. Not since Jesus was on the cross has the world seen anything like it!

One sentence in Judge Caverly's decision in the Leopold-Loeb case has been sticking in our mind ever since the decision was rendered. It is the sentence in which, discussing the mental condition of the boys, the Judge said, *"Had they been normal, they would not have committed the crime."* At first glance, this statement seems to be so obvious as to be ridiculous. It looks like a solemn judicial pronouncement that black is black, or a straight line is straight. It awakens echoes of the famous definition by an American judge that "a reasonable doubt is a doubt that is reasonable." Furthermore, this statement by Judge Caverly seems unjust. What has it got to do with the question of the punishment for these particular criminals? Isn't the same thing true of every criminal, and therefore should not all criminals escape the utmost penalty, or perhaps even all penalty, of their offense on the ground of abnormality? All this seems clear enough. Hence the indignation and even scorn we felt when we read this

phrase! But the sentence stuck, as we have said. We kept thinking about it, and thinking about it. "Had they been normal, they would not have committed the crime." An axiom! Had any criminal been normal, he would not have committed his crime. A logical corollary! But if this be true, as it must be true, then our whole system of criminal jurisprudence, with its trial courts, its prisons, its executions, is wrong. *EXACTLY!* For centuries we have been acting on the supposition that criminals are deliberate moral offenders, as our fathers acted on the same supposition in the case of lunatics. But just now, in this age of ours, are we beginning to glimpse the fact that, in the majority of cases, the moral factor does not enter into crime any more than it does into insanity. The crime is itself the evidence of abnormality—due to inheritance, bad training, or evil environment—which is to be regarded not as an offense to be punished but as a disease to be treated and cured. This does not mean that we shall leave our criminals at large. Not at all! But it *does* mean that we shall take them out of prisons and put them in hospitals, as our fathers finally learned to do with lunatics.

It has for some years past been the sober and reiterated conviction of UNITY that whenever an honest and thorough investigation is made of the problem of church attendance and church membership these days, the results are not encouraging. It has for some years past been the policy of UNITY to record and comment upon such results whenever they are available. We want the facts—we abominate the concealments of the church authorities—and we seek out of the old the reconstruction of the new. Just now comes to hand amazing information from Windsor County, Vermont, the birthplace of the President. Many years ago a study was made of church life in that vicinity. A like survey has been lately made and the results published. Great changes are noted in the social and economic life of the region. Oxen have disappeared and automobiles come, the telephone and rural free delivery have banished the remoteness of the farm, the moving picture and now the radio are making their conquests. Schools have been improved, public libraries multiplied, and welfare agencies widely established. But the church! — this is a different story. Church membership has remained proportionately about the same (here is where the famous "church statistics" come in!); money contributions to the churches have increased, though not in proportion to living costs; but there has been "a startling drop," says the report, in church attendance. "There is not a single open country church that does not show a pronounced decrease in attendance." As for the town churches, in spite of good roads and hundreds of automobiles, these show a decrease in attendance of 40 per cent. For Windsor County as a whole, it is estimated that church attendance is only half of what it was a generation ago in proportion to population. Is it surprising that the report surmises that, if the present decline continues, it will be a question of only a few decades before the church will become "a deserted institution"? We believe this to be a sound prophecy. Protestantism has come to its end. If our present denominational system is not radically changed, America will become a churchless country.

If Plutarch were alive to-day, would he not be writing parallel biographies of Abraham Lincoln and J. Ramsay MacDonald? The comparison between the two men is of course not absolute either in career or character. Lincoln found his way into politics through the law, MacDonald through journalism; Lincoln's marriage was not exactly ideal, whereas MacDonald's had that idyllic aspect which we associate only with certain great matches of history; Lincoln had depths of humor and wisdom which seem to be absent or at least as yet undiscovered in MacDonald. But in other and more fundamental ways the two men are outwardly and inwardly enough alike to delight old Plutarch's heart. Both were born in abject poverty. Both came early under the moulding influence of remarkable women—the American of his step-mother, and the Scotchman of his grandmother. Both were self-educated, had a passion for reading, and won their way to achievement by their own unaided efforts. Immensely impressive is the similarity in the political situations which constituted the climax of their careers. Lincoln confronted the problem of chattel slavery, identified himself with a new party (Republican) organized on the issue of political emancipation for the Negro against both of the two old parties (Whig and Democratic), and as leader of this third party became President of the Republic. MacDonald confronts today the problem of wage-slavery, has identified himself with a new party (Labor) organized on the issue of industrial emancipation for the worker against both of the two old parties (Liberal and Tory), and now as leader of this third party has become Premier of the Empire. Still more striking is the identity in character of these two heroes—their integrity, their simplicity, their mastery of men, their unshakeable confidence in the people, their essentially religious spirit, their vision of ever larger liberty and brotherhood. To say that J. Ramsay MacDonald is the Lincoln of his time, is most accurately to characterize him.

Jottings

Ernest Boyd, the well-known critic, states that "Papini has not enjoyed in England anything like the vogue which he has over here, nor in France," and adds that in Italy "ever since the 'Storia di Cristo,' there has been a dimuendo of appreciation." Once again is it demonstrated that the address of literary America is Main Street.

The latest book on religion in Russia states that "the number of priests put to death (by the Soviet government) was officially reported as 1,276,187." Reviewing this statement, *Zion's Herald* (Sept. 3, page 1124) points out that in normal times, before the revolution, Russia had 3 metropolitans, 26 arch-bishops, 40 diocesan bishops, 80 suffragans, 20 retired bishops, 3246 arch-priests, 47,859 priests, 15,035 deacons, 47,489 psalm-singers—total 112,798. Apparently the Soviets had to kill the priests the way we have to kill rabbits—because they multiplied so fast under Bolshevik auspices!

"The consensus of scholarly opinion," says Edward B. Reuter, "at the present time is to the effect that the Negro is not lacking nor markedly inferior in any essential of mind; he appears to be approximately equal to other races in his capacity to acquire civilization." Will the Nordic believe this scientific judgment? No more than the Dowie-ites will believe that the earth is round.

In 1661, while Charles II was king in England, a millenniallite sect, known as "the Fifth Monarchy men," attempted a rebellion. "It (the rebellion) was never formidable," says the historian, "being the work of a handful of men, but *it threw the court and Parliament into a panic out of all proportion to the danger.*" This sounds strangely like Palmer, Daugherty, Burns and our own recent "red" scare. Strange what cowards governments are! Is it because they know that they have earned rebellion by their injustices, and therefore exaggerate its strength?

The *Nation* dares the War Department to hold a "Mobilization Day" next year. We second the dare! The 1924 Day was the most wonderful round-up of pacifist sentiment that this country has ever known. We would like nothing better than to see the generals face the storm again.

We are getting on—*we are getting on!*—Sherwood Eddy writes: "In the last war a few score of genuine conscientious objectors went to prison for their faith. It is only fair to tell the government frankly in advance that in the next war, not a few score, but many thousands will gladly go to prison or to death rather than take any part in (war)." The *Christian Century* presents the argument for this defiance of the militarists as a leading article (September 18, page 1202). We are getting on!

J. H. H.

Preach to the Heathen!

[*A Plea from our Bulgarian Correspondent*]

A recent telegram informed us that Lord Robert Cecil had arrived in The Hague to lecture on the great promise of the League of Nations, and had declared that the Germans were against joining the League, because they did not desire to fetter themselves any further. No wonder! No one with common sense or conscience should any longer blame the Germans for making such a stand. And what is Germany to be blamed for? For desiring or provoking the war, for unheard of atrocities committed during the war, for intention to substitute *hunnish* barbarism to existing civilization? Yes, all these accusations have been broad-casted without stint, and were accepted by the many without discussion. It suited the purpose of the accusers, as also of the believers. It was convenient and useful to see the beam in the enemy's eye.

Books have been written by eminent, impartial men and proofs presented in the shape of secret conventions, understandings, confidential diplomatic correspondence revealed, official declarations of responsible men which leave no doubt on the subject—that not only the Germans, but the Kaiser himself also, were dead set against the war, that the war was wantonly provoked and imposed by Russia in connivance with France for power to crush the conquered, to seize and oppress countries and peoples in the path of their ambition.

A book treating this subject has just reached me. The whole question of the responsibility of the war is laid out most carefully and systematically in fourteen chapters. Every point is supported by citations from documents and declarations by responsible statesmen. The plans and designs of Russia and France are laid bare, particularly the restless intrigues of the Russian diplomats to destroy Austria and open the road to the Balkans and Constantinople. Bulgaria was growing independent, beyond control. Russia abandoned her for a season and addressed herself to Serbia. The Sarajevo murders gave her opportunity. Germany had no choice but to declare war, designedly prepared for and brought on by Russia in a perfect understanding with France. The author has evidently extensive and sure knowledge on the subject obtained from firsthand sources.

The book is: "Let France Explain," by Frederick Bausman, former member of the supreme court of the State of Washington. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, it is in its second edition.

I cannot go further, in this article, into the content

and the value of this book, but I think all desirous of sound information on the subject it treats should not fail to read it.

Ugly things have occurred, do occur and will occur in time of war. The compiled volumes of atrocities ascribed to the Germans by the committee presided over by Lord Bryce—alas!—of depositions by destitute Belgian refugees, of which such great capital was made at the time, and with the greatest success, are now conceded to be worthless. The cry of *Hun* has no longer any meaning. The situation has developed, and the truth is felt, but *not confessed.* The die-hards are a selfish, stubborn lot. There is worldly wisdom in—*not spitting against the wind.*

We see, however, men of great capacities, such as Lord Robert Cecil and others, persistently following the *Will-o'-the-Wisp* League of Nations, working to raise it to a standard to enable it to bring about understanding and peace among nations! Lord Robert Cecil has placed himself at the head of Peace societies organized in many towns in England to popularize the future work of the League of Nations.

The thought crosses one's mind that such men find an interesting occupation in preaching peace in the desert!

The League of Nations is an instrument of the Peace Treaties, which limit and control it. So long as the Peace Treaties continue what they are, there can be no possibility of its instrument (the League) producing other results than such as they have provided for. The guiding spirit of the Treaties is evil, and so necessarily is that of the League, its obedient instrument. The League is not permitted to take any decision not in accord with the special interests of the authors of the Treaties.

We are interestingly informed of the busy work at hand for the present session of the League of Nations—economic, labour, sanitary questions, and such like. Work must be found for the dozen committees and sub-committees into which the League is divided. The big salaries have to be accounted for, and the present condition of things must continue unchanged.

The principal questions, on the proper answering of which depends any possible peaceful settlement for the entire world, are avoided as if they were the precursors of the Asiatic plague.

The question of the reparations and that of the minorities have one meaning only—the oppression, the annihilation of the conquered and the *"guilty."* Guilty at the point of the sword!

The great conquerors and their satellites, every one, have obtained the right, by virtue of these Treaties of peace, to rule over vast minorities, to oppress them, even to denationalize them, by every possible means. And the proclaimed object of the war was liberty for all, a place in the sun for all! The smaller the ruling power over minorities, the more tyrannical are its methods. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Yougoslavia, Greece, etc., are newly created States, bloated to greatness beyond their dreams. Each one is ruling over minorities belonging to nations formerly their masters and far in advance of them in civilization and culture.

Armed to the teeth as they are, disarmed and powerless as their conquered neighbors are, they are, notwithstanding, restless. Their foreign ministers are ever taking counsel together, seeking to strengthen their powers of oppression against possible danger from the helpless conquered. Moral power, moral influence, justice, are discarded articles. Any account taken of them would ruin the edifice, the temple of Moloch, so elaborately prepared by the Paris Peace Treaties.

I have no doubt of the good intentions of men who travel about, lecturing on the necessity of a true peace settlement. But when I see them lecturing in a *conquered* country, as in my country, Bulgaria, I say most decidedly that they are doing the opposite of what they should be doing. I say to them—preach to the strong, the tyrant, the oppressor, to him whose actions are a denial of justice. The plight of the conquered forbids them to think of anything but of a peace settlement. To preach to such of peace is to carry water to the sea.

Lord Robert Cecil—I take up this name as an illustration—is a prominent member of the League of Nations; he knows full well where the barriers are to a peaceful settlement. His organized peace societies in many towns of England, and the international *peace* exhibitions held in them, have produced no result except a momentary stir and pleasure to the actors, nor will his lecturing in The Hague or elsewhere produce greater effect!

The bull has to be taken by the horns; the guilt for the war must be acknowledged by all to whom it belongs. Then only can there be a chance for reasonable settlement of the ruinous political, economic and moral situation. Then only will be removed the intolerable incubus which is stifling humanity.

The spirit of the Treaties must be modified to measure out justice to the conquered as well as to the conquerors. Until this is done, no satisfactory settlement of the Reparations question or of the rights of the minorities is possible. The League of Nations, the Conference of Ambassadors, etc., are the mere slaves of these Treaties, and are thus glaring falsehoods.

I say, cease lecturing in the desert, go back to the source of the evil—the Peace Treaties. Revise them in accordance with justice and humanity, so that they may allow a place in the sun for all, and man will breathe again to bless God, and to outlaw war.

Sofia, Bulgaria. P. M. MATTHÉEF.

In its positive form, *Ahimsa* (non-violence) means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of *Ahimsa,* I must love my enemy. I must apply the same rules to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son.

He is no follower of *Ahimsa* who does not care a straw if he kills a man by inches by deceiving him in trade, or who, in order to do a supposed good to his country, does not mind killing off a few officials.

I do not hold for one moment that East and West cannot combine. I think the day is coming when East must meet West, or West meet East; but I think the social evolution of the West today lies in one channel, and that of the Indian in another.

The dream of every Indian who claims to love his country should be not to glorify it in language but to spiritualize the political life and the political institutions of the country.—*Gandhi.*

Dry Rot

Although the world, diseased as it is like a body covered with ulcers, shows a few symptons of health, such as Prohibition, Communism in Russia, the new regime in England, a possible abandonment of war, and others, yet we are a long ways from growth and normal vigor. Aspects of a world condition that are forward-looking can be such only so long as we press on. The blood stream must be clean before recovery is possible.

Our fatality as a nation is synonymous with our complacency. When the potato fails to respond to those life-giving forces, light and air, it dies in the ground of a disease known as "dry rot." When we fail to be drawn upward to the surface of thought in the atmosphere of truth, likewise must we die of "dry rot." We cannot live if we do not grow, and, as human beings, we do not grow without facing facts and solving our difficulties.

There is nothing, it seems to me, so evident in America today, as its utmost nonchalance, selfish egotism, and its desire to be "fed up." Everywhere, in church, in school, in public hall, do we find these tendencies exhibited. While audiences clamor to be amused, to be lauded, to have their great heroes and their magnificent history extolled, the speakers, who might be leaders of the mobs, relinquish every opportunity to lift the ideals of those before them—they succumb to the temptation to flatter, in order to become popular.

The wheel thus turns round and round. In order to be heard speakers and press give the people what they desire — jokes, titillating anecdotes, proverbial slogans in the old bombastic, grandiose way, beautiful reviews of our ideals as evidenced by our flawless past, and vague generalities which mean nothing. The people believe what they crave to hear concerning themselves because it bolsters up their pride; they pay for more "bunk" like it. It pays to please the people.

Thus, the public speakers, even those who represent the institutions of higher learning, as well as the press, aid and abet this complacency in the American people, and spread the disease of "dry rot." They become slaves and followers when they should be leaders in thought. They help to "set" a public opinion which is confined, prejudiced, stereotyped in thousands of minds which are as uniform as so many pellets of lead. They waste opportunities to be potters for the sake of applause.

That the older generation is suffering from inertia is not so lamentable as the fact that the younger folk are even more *blasé*. A premium is placed on glib talk, smart retort, ability to suggest the vulgar. Wholesomeness, thoroughness, punctility, responsibility, and thinking on sane lines are eschewed.

Let us not be deceived by the apparent hustle and bustle of the age. Because we constantly invent speedier means of locomotion, because we use the words "go" and "gogetter" with a fluent tongue, because, advertising and propaganda having fostered a spirit of spending and speeding, we seem to be moving at a rapid rate, because we as a nation believe in the power of money to buy anything and everything—because of none of these things let us slumber in the dream that we are progressive or that change is a synonym for progress. Spiritually, we are not speeding; we are on a great treadmill going round and round on the same old "dope" handed out to us from another decade.

We are about in the position of the farmer who said, when asked what he thought about the conditions in America: "I hain't paid for thinkin' and so I hain't thinkin'. I worked hard to put in them officers in Washington to do my thinkin' for me—and I expect them to do it."

In the first place, we work for pay, only; in the second, we hate to think.

We are victims, like a school of hungry fish, after almost any bait that is doled out to us. Never have we been so ripe for propaganda as we are just now and were before the war. No wonder we ate the hook, line, and all. Unless we wake up we shall again be eating "flies."

As a nation we are made up of millions of individuals, each with noble impulses of sympathy and forgiveness. It is lamentable that we are so busy looking after those individual needs that we forget a larger duty. Although we may be perfectly capable of judging personal matters and gaining a material success, we let ourselves stagnate and die in the realm of reason. Thus, we become pitifully subject to the smooth politician, the demagogue, and the propagandist.

Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner," who desired drinking water to sustain life, found himself in a situation similar to ours. There was "water, water, everywhere, but not a drop to drink." So have we about us truths and facts, but they are so infected by crawling, subtle things, that we fail to see that what the water needs is sterilization.

Truly, through our own laxity, through our satisfied contentment with the order of things as they exist, through our inofficious complacency, we are actually tempting the gods of justice and retribution. In short, we are rapidly becoming a nation that is perfectly superbly autointoxicated.

SAMUEL MARION LOWDEN.

THE POET'S TASK

The poet fares along a road of dreams
Where ever flash of some new beauty gleams,
Yet his uplifted and enchanted eyes
Behold the striving world of men that lies
Beyond, where Truth and Love are trammeled in the dust,
Enslaved to ill-starred passion, blood and lust,
And where the reign of Justice seems to be
A thing for bitter jest and mockery!

Would that the burning message of his pen
Could move the deeper, stronger soul of men,
Stir in their hearts the primal roots of good,
Show them the gleaming way to brotherhood!

And yet he can not stem the rushing tide,
He can not turn the stream of fate aside.
Let him go back along his road of song,
Let him sing Truth is great and Love is strong,
Sing of the spring and kind-eyed stars again,
Keep Beauty striving in the hearts of men.
For when true Beauty springs to glorious birth,
Justice and Peace will flourish on the earth!

LUCIA TRENT.

Public Opinion Outlaws War

A Reply to Mr. Lansing by Hon. William E. Borah in *The Independent.*

The ex-Secretary of State entitles his article, "The Fallacy of 'Outlaw War.'" Why not the "Fallacy of Peace"? If his reasoning be sound, if his logic be followed fearlessly, there is, and can be, no peace in this world. If force be the ultimate arbiter in international affairs, as the ex-Secretary plainly argues, then it should be the business of each and every nation to develop its instruments of force to the highest point of perfection. Instead of discussing international law, world courts, and thus deluding the minds of the people and leading them into unsafe paths, it should be our business to spur our experts to the invention of yet more deadly instruments of death, to increase our armies and our navies, and to bring force to its highest degree of perfection. It is absolutely certain that there will always be controversies between nations, and equally certain that such controversies must be adjusted, either through orderly, legal methods and under the direction of law and a sense of justice, or by force. Mr. Lansing clearly accepts the latter. The idea of peace, therefore, from his standpoint is a fallacy, an annoying and impossible ideal. All plans and schemes for peace are not only futile, but delusive and dangerous. With great respect for the ex-Secretary, I reject any such savage and destructive doctrine and the theory upon which it is based.

"One can forgive and pity hysterical women and illogical sentimentalists, but for men chosen to public office" there can be neither forgiveness nor pity for advocating that war is a crime, destructive of the whole moral fibre of organized society, and should be so declared by the terms of international law. I think the deluded and hysterical women and the arrested intellects of wandering men may still retain sufficient calm and comprehension at least to be thankful for the commiseration and concern of the ex-Secretary of State.

There have been other instances in which imperious intellects and massive minds have turned with a pitying eye upon the sentimentalists and the hysterical. One recalls how the great Webster stood upon the steps of the Revere House in Boston and, in pitying tones, spoke of those hysterical women and illogical sentimentalists —the abolitionists—as irresponsible and dangerous and denounced the whole abolition movement as "rub-a-dub" agitation, fit only for little minds and fatuous disturbers. Mr. Webster's powerful intellect, his remorseless logic, failed to properly measure the uplifting and directing power of an aroused sense of justice, failed to comprehend the invincible force of public opinion. He thought only of physical force, that governments rest at last upon force, that slavery was protected by the Constitution and that back of the Constitution was force. Garrison and Phillips and their hysterical followers were appealing to a power which rewrites constitutions and reforms continents. There is not a government on the face of the earth strong enough to declare and carry on war against the aroused and sustained public opinion of the people. If we are to end war, we must get back of governments and diplomats and ex-secretaries, back of leagues and courts, to that educated, aroused, and well-directed public opinion upon which all agreements, all laws, all leagues, and all courts must ultimately seek foundation.

Mr. Lansing says: "It is the physical might of government which prevents crime and protects the individual." This is true only in part. Fundamentally, and on the whole, it is not true. The vice of the familiar argument here put forth is that it gives too large a place to the element of force. Force has its place in the affairs of government, but I contend that it is incidental to a greater power. Why are certain amendments to the Constitution of the United States not enforced? Why is the Woman Suffrage amendment a dead letter in a portion of this country? Why is it, notwithstanding suffrage is guaranteed, that people are not allowed to vote? Why is the Eighteenth Amendment flouted by whole communities? In the "best of homes" there is persistent violation of it. Simply because public opinion is not back of these constitutional provisions. Why were there 9,500 murders in the United States in the year 1922, and why did a very large portion of their perpetrators escape punishment, other than because we are loose in our respect for law? Back of our Constitution and our laws and our courts must be the will and wish of the people, the educated public sentiment of the masses.

Every free government rests in the last analysis upon public opinion; it is public opinion which builds free government, it is public opinion which maintains it. The younger Pitt correctly declared upon a most momentous occasion: "I believe that in every civilized country public opinion is the only sure support of any government." Laws and courts are but the instruments, the more or less efficient means of executing public opinion. Let us not build our whole theory of government, or of international affairs, our whole theory of life, upon the vicious uncivilized doctrine of force. There are other elements more vital, more controlling. No structure which the human mind can set up can have any permanency without a moral foundation.

"War cannot be outlawed because under certain conditions it is the only means of preserving national life. . . . The law which far transcends any man-made law is the supreme law of self-preservation." This argument of the ex-Secretary has an atmosphere of finality about it. But let us see where it leads us upon examining it closely.

The law of self-preservation as here invoked would repeal the law punishing murder, the laws relative to assaults, and even the laws of theft, for men will kill to save life and steal to prevent starvation, though all the force of governments is behind such laws. The law of murder is enacted and maintained for the purpose of preventing the attack, of discouraging men from the appeal to force and violence. All society is concerned in staying the aggressor. If we can prevent aggression, there will be no occasion for pleading self-defense. If we can give prosperity to communities, men will not need to steal to keep hunger from their children. The end which we are striving to attain is to prevent men from appealing to force or violence either as between individuals or as between nations—to stay aggression. What we desire is to let those who would start wars, who would gratify greed and ambition in that way, understand that law is against them, public opinion is against them, and that they proceed in their schemes of

aggression, not under the shield of law, but in defiance of it, and in the face of its condemnation.

I am unable to determine from Mr. Lansing's article whether he wants an end of war or not. But I must presume he does. If so, does he think that he will turn men and leaders from war more readily by recognizing war as a legitimate institution for the settlement of international disputes, or by declaring it a crime and pointing the way to settlement through lawful procedure? Assuming that the principles we contend for were invoked in international law, accepted by the leading nations, with public opinion behind them, would it not seem certain that it would have a staying effect upon all those who appeal to war for the acquisition of territory and to gratify ambition? If we are to prevent war or to reduce the chances of war, every means known, moral, educational, arbitral, legal, must be harnessed for the struggle.

We must bear in mind also that wars seldom come by reason of mass movements. They are the result of selfish policies and personal scheming. "Peoples do not make war," declared Mr. Lansing's great leader. The peoples of the different nations were not responsible for the late war. Had the peoples of the different nations been consulted, or even informed of the real facts, there would have been no war. It was forced upon the world with all its attendant sacrifices and misery by a few men. Lord Loreburn, ex-Chancellor of England, declared: "We went to war in a Russian quarrel because we were tied to France in the dark." Lord Hugh Cecil declared: "When war was decided upon, it was not decided upon by the House of Commons, or the electorate, but by a concurrence of ministers and ex-ministers." A code of international law declaring war a crime and making criminally liable those who foment war could be carried out as successfully as any provision of domestic law in the United States. Under our Constitution, Congress may punish violations of international law, and so could other nations.

"Until all nations stand on the same high plane of morality . . . this talk and discussion of outlawing war is as useless as it is foolish." This has been the plea of timid souls in every great struggle against wrong and injustice, against every great reform in the history of the world. They say: "Wait until nations stand on the same high plane, wait until the world and the people are all good," but propose to do nothing to bring the nations to the same plane or to lead the people to a higher life. The hoary antiquity of this argument ought to encourage men to leave it undisturbed. It was the argument invoked in the first instance against international law itself, against making piracy a crime, against outlawing dueling. The question is: What do we propose to do to bring these nations to the same high plane? The outlawry of war seems to us to be the one vital, essential, and indispensable first step to attain that end. To treat war as a crime in international law, to remove its legal shield, to shear it of its glory, to educate the world to believe that war is wrong, that force is destructive, that it settles nothing—this is a part of the program to bring the nations to this high plane.

Does the ex-Secretary think that we will make any headway by pursuing the old course and treading the old slippery, bloody paths? For three thousand years we have experimented with his theory and adjusted our minds to this cruel creed of force. We have seen peace schemes and plans and alliances, all recognizing war as a legitimate institution for the settlement of international disputes, all based in the last analysis upon force organized to prevent or minimize war. As a result, we are on the very verge of universal breakdown. Another chapter in Mr. Lansing's philosophy, another "step toward peace" along his way would destroy civilization. With ten million killed on the field of battle, with three hundred billion dollars' worth of property destroyed, with the hospitals from Petrograd to Peking and from Berlin to San Francisco still crowded with the diseased and the insane, with nations more heavily armed now than at the beginning of the late war, with the experts of the different nations industriously scheming for more deadly instruments of torture and destruction—with all these, we seem to be gathering the fruits of the philosophy, the theory, the creed of Mr. Lansing. Is it not time to lay the ax at the root of the tree, to recognize war no longer as legitimate, to declare nations and men criminals who engage in this super-crime? It is the moral and educational and legal foundation upon which all plans and schemes and hopes of peace must rest.

The ex-Secretary of State seems to have a sensitiveness about being regarded as an idealist. "The way to stop wars . . . is to remove as far as possible their causes," he says. But in this proposal he suffers himself to ascend to the higher level. Greed is one of the great causes of war. Can we ever remove it? Ambition, love of power, territorial acquisition, are causes of war. Can we ever remove them? Ex-President Wilson declared at St. Louis that commercial rivalry was the cause of the World War. Does anyone expect to remove commercial rivalry? Does anyone desire to remove commercial rivalry? Certainly not. But you can bring men to understand that commercial rivalry must be waged within the compass of established laws and within the rules of reason, that controversies concerning matters of commerce may not be settled by force, that these things should be settled as disputes relative to commercial rivalry in private affairs are settled, under the law and through the courts.

Is there any law upon the statute books which awaited its enactment for the removal of all causes of crime with which the law was intended to deal? Did we remove the cause of piracy before we outlawed it? Have we removed the causes of murder or theft? Certainly not. We pass laws that men may not push causes to the point of violence. There will always be causes for war. There will always be controversies. There will always be ambitious men and blundering criminal diplomats. And the supreme question is: Shall we adjust these matters and restrain the actors by means of and under the influence of law? Shall we settle such controversies by appeal to violence or to law? Shall men who appeal to violence be protected in the belief and the knowledge that they have a legal right to make such an appeal? If we are ever going to reach a time when these controversies and conflicts are to be settled under and through the process of the law, certainly we must begin by outlawing the opposite of law—war. We must repudiate the antithesis of law—violence.

Our fathers had to deal with this question of "physical might," of force behind decrees. In creating the Supreme Court, it was proposed for the first time in the history of governments to erect a judicial tribunal which would have jurisdiction over controversies between sovereign States. Immediately, of course, the

question arose as to how judgments would be enforced. It was contended that unless there were force behind the judgment rendered, it would be a futility. On the other hand, it was said that no sovereign State would submit to a decree unless it were compelled to do so. I presume, too, it was thought such a scheme was foolish until all States should reach the same high plane of morality; that a decree without force behind it would be as "useless as foolish." No doubt, many thought that a court without force behind its judgment was a thing to be considered only by hysterical women and illogical sentimentalists. But Madison, after thinking over the subject, "observed that the more he reflected on the use of force, the more he doubted the practicability, the justice and efficacy of it when it applied to people collectively and not individually." Hamilton declared the idea of "coercing the States is one of the maddest projects that was ever devised. The thing is a dream. It is impossible." The result was that the court was given jurisdiction over controversies between States and power to render judgment against the delinquent State. The Supreme Court of the United States has said by unanimous opinion "there is no power delegated to the general government, either through the Judicial Department, or any other department, to use coercive means" to compel obedience to its judgment rendered against a sovereign State. Nevertheless, some eighty-odd judgments have been rendered against States by the Supreme Court of the United States, and in every single instance, those judgments have been complied with in good faith upon the part of the State against which the judgment was rendered. A sense of justice and a regard for the respect of mankind may accomplish much more than force.

—*William E. Borah.*

My Jail Experiences

X

Adan was a young Somali soldier who was sentenced to ten years' hard labor for desertion from the British Army which he had joined during the war. He was transferred by the Aden Jail authorities. Adan had served four years when we were admitted. He was practically illiterate. He could read the Koran with difficulty but could not copy it correctly, if at all. He was able to speak Urdu fairly fluently and was anxious to learn Urdu. With the permission of the Superintendent I tried to teach him but the learning of the alphabet proved too great a strain upon him and he left it. With all that he was quick-witted and sharp as a needle. He took the greatest interest in religious matters. He was a devout Mussalman, offered his prayers regularly including the midnight one, and never missed the Ramzan fast. The rosary was his constant companion. When he was free, he used to recite selections from the Koran. He would often engage me in a discussion on complete fasts according to the Hindu custom as also on Ahimsa. He was a brave man. He was very courteous but never cringing. He was of an excitable nature and therefore often quarreled with the bardasi or his fellow warder. We had therefore sometimes to arbitrate between them. Being a soldier and amenable to reason, he would accept the award, but he would put his case boldly and cogently. Adan was the longest with us. I treasure Adan's affection. He was most attentive to me. He would see to it that I got my food at the appointed time. He was sad if I ever became ill and anticipated all my wants. He would not let me exert myself for anything. He was anxious to be discharged or at least to be transferred to Aden. I tried hard. I drew up petitions for him. The Superintendent too tried his best. But the decision rested with the Aden authorities. Hope was held out to him that he would be discharged before the end of last year. I do hope he is already discharged. The little service I rendered gave rise to deep personal attachment. It was a sad parting when Adan was transferred to another part of the prison. I must not omit to mention that when I was organizing spinning and carding in the jail, Adan, though one of his hands was disabled, helped most industriously at making slivers. He became very proficient in the art which he had come to like.

As Shabaskhan was replaced by Adan, Harkaran was replaced by Bhiwa. Much to our agreeable surprise, Bhiwa was a Mahar from Maharashtra and therefore an untouchable. Of all the warders we met he was perhaps the most industrious. The reader will be surprised to find that the canker of untouchability has not left even the jails untouched. Poor Bhiwa! He would not enter our cells without considerable hesitation. He would not touch our pots. We quickly set him at rest by telling him that we had not only no prejudices against untouchables but that we were trying our best to do away with the curse. Shankarlal Banker specially befriended him and made him feel perfectly at home with us. He permitted Bhiwa to be so familiar with him that the former would resent an angry word from Mr. Banker and the latter would even apologize. He induced Bhiwa to apply himself to studies and taught him also spinning. The result was that Bhiwa became in an incredibly short space of time an accomplished spinner and began so to like it that he thought of learning weaving, and earning his living through that occupation when he went out. I cultivated in the jail the habit of drinking hot water and lemon at 4:15 a. m. When I protested against Mr. Banker doing it for me, he initiated Bhiwa into the mystery. Prisoners, though they get up early enough, do not like to leave their matting (which is their bed) at that early hour. Bhiwa, however, immediately responded to his friend's suggestion. But it was Mr. Banker's business always to wake up Bhiwa at 4 o'clock. When Bhiwa went (he was discharged under special remission), Adan undertook the duty. He will not listen to my doing it myself. And the tradition was kept up even after Mr. Banker's discharge, each out-going warder initiating the in-coming one into all the mysteries. Needless to say this morning duty was no part of the prison task. Indeed convicts when they became warders were not expected to do any labor at all. Theirs is but to order.

Even as the best of friends must part some day, Bhiwa bade good-bye. He was permitted to receive from Mr. Banker khaddar caps, khaddar dhoties, khaddar vests and a khaddar blanket. He promised to wear nothing but khaddar outside. Let me hope good Bhiwa, wherever he may be, is keeping the promise.

Bhiwa was followed by Thamu. He too belonged to Maharashtra. Thamu was a mild-mannered warder. He had not much "go" in him. He would do what he was asked but did not believe in specially exerting him-

self. He and Adan therefore did not get on quite well together. But Thamu being timid always yielded to Adan in the end. He had such a royal time (all had) with us that Thamu did not want to be separated from us. He therefore preferred to bear Adan's hard yoke to being transferred. Thamu having come to us a considerable time after Adan, the latter was Thamu's senior with us. It is remarkable how these fictitious seniorities spring up in little places like jails. Yerawada was to us a whole world or better still the whole world. Every squabble, every little jar, was a mighty event commanding sustained interest for the day and sometimes even for days. If the jail authorities permitted a jail newspaper to be conducted by the prisoners and for them, it would have a cent per cent circulation and such toothsome news as properly cooked dholl, well dressed vegetables, and sensational items as war of words between prisoners, sometimes even resulting in blows and consequent *khatla* (trial) before the Superintendent, would be as eagerly devoured by the prisoners as the news of big dinner parties and great wars are devoured by the public outisde. I make the present of a suggestion to enterprising members of the Assembly that if they desire fame they cannot do better than introduce a bill requiring Superintendents of jails to permit the publishing and editing of newspapers by prisoners exclusively for their own use and under strict censorship by the authorities.

To return to Thamu, though he was flabby, as a man he was otherwise as good as any of his predecessors. He took to the charkba like fish to water. In a week's time, he pulled a more even thread than I did. And after a month, the pupil out-distanced the teacher by a long way. So much so that I grew jealous of Thamu's superiority. I saw too from Thamu's rapid progress that my slow progress was a peculiar defect of mine and that an ordinary person could pull a perfect thread in a month at the outside. Every one of those who were taught by me excelled me in no time. To Thamu as to Bhiwa, the spinning wheel had become a welcome companion. They were able to drown the sorrows of separation from their nearest in the soft and gentle music of the wheel. Later on spinning became Thamu's first work in the morning. He spun at the rate of four hours per day.

When we were shifted to the European yard, there were several changes. Among them was a change of warders. Adan was the first to be transferred. Though neither he nor we liked it, we took his transfer bravely. Then came Thamu's turn. Poor fellow, he broke down. He wanted me to try to keep him. I would not do that. I thought it was beyond my province. The authorities had a perfect right to shift whom and where they would. Adan and Thamu were followed by kunti, a Gurkha, and a Canarese by name Gangappa. The Gurkha was called Goorkha by everybody. He was reserved but grew "chummy" later on. For the first few days, he did not know where he was. Probably he thought we would report and involve him on the slightest pretext. But when he saw that we meant no mischief, he came closer to us. But he was soon transferred. Gangappa I have partly described in the introduction to the jail correspondence. He was an elderly man. His almost punctilious observance of rules and his great devotion to duty commanded my admiration. He put his whole soul into whatever he was ordered by the authorities to do. He took up duties which he need not have. He rarely remained idle. He learned to make and cook *chapatis* for my companions. His devotion to me personally I shall never forget. No wife or sister could be more unsparing than Gangappa in his attention. He was awake at all times. He took delight in anticipating my wants. He saw to it that all my things were kept spotlessly clean. During my illness, he was my most efficient nurse, because he was the most attentive. When we were transferred to the European yard, Messrs. Mansar Ali and Yagnik used to join me at prayer time. Mr. Mansar Ali was transferred to Allahabad for his discharge in due course. Mr. Yagnik because he needed more intensive and philosophical rather than devotional meditation dropped out. Gangappa felt that without these friends I would feel lonely at prayer. The very first time that he saw that I was alone at prayer, he quietly took his seat in front of me. Needless to say I appreciated the delicate courtesy underlying the action. It was so spontaneous, unofficious, and natural for Gangappa. I do not call it religious in the accepted sense of the term, though, according to my conception, it was truly religious. I always hesitated to invite anybody to these prayer meetings of mine. I did not want them to come for my sake. I did not feel lonely. I realized most at that time the companionship of God. If any one came, I wanted him not for keeping company but for sharing the divine companionship. I therefore particularly hesitated to invite the warders. I felt that they might join merely out of form, whereas I wanted them to join only if they naturally felt like joining. With Gangappa it was a mixture of pity for me in my loneliness and desire to share with me the sacred half-hour, though he could understand not a word of what I sang save of course *Ramnam*. Gangappa drew to the prayer meeting another warder Annappa, also a Canarese, and later Mr. Abdul Gani felt impelled to join. I imagine that Mr. Abdul Gani was unconsciously influenced by Gangappa's unobtrusive act of joining me.

The reader will see that I had a uniformly happy experience of these convict warders. I could not have wished for more devoted companions or more faithful attendants. Paid service would but be a patch upon this and that of friends could only equal it. And yet the pity of it is that society treats such men as criminals and outcasts because they had the misfortune to be convicted. I entirely endorse the remark of the head jailer already quoted by me in a previous chapter that there are in our jails many men who are better than those outside. The reader will now understand why I felt a pang when I heard that I was discharged, and most of the companions who had covered me with so much kindness and whom there was in my opinion no occasion to detain any longer in the jails were left behind.

One word more and I must regretfully part with Gangappa. Gangappa always knew his limitations. He would not spin. He said he could not do it. His fingers had not the cunning for it. But he kept the work room in order, cleaned my wheel and devoted all his spare time to sunning and cleaning the cotton for carding.

Of all the many happy memories of my prison life I know that those of the company of the convict warders will perhaps linger the longest.

Young India. —*Mahatma Gandhi.*

THE STUDY TABLE

You *Can* Change Human Nature!

Some years ago, when I was writing my first book, "The Revolutionary Function of the Modern Church," I found myself confronted by the dogma, You Can't Change Human Nature. If this were true, the thesis of my book was unsound, so I had to refute it willy-nilly. I found little to help me in the way of literature upon the subject, so I sat down and thought the thing through for myself. The result was a chapter which was original, however crude. I had at least convinced myself, by a process of reasoning, of the essential truth of what I had intuitively believed from the beginning—that human nature not only *can* be changed but *has* been changed a thousand times in a thousand different ways. The determining factor is environment. Change that, and your human nature changes accordingly.

Since that time Professor Hocking, of Harvard, has written his formidable tome. And now comes this fascinating little volume* by Charles Lawson, of New York. The author is convinced, as his title indicates, that human nature *can* be changed; and he proves it by facts and arguments which I heartily wish had been at my disposal, or within the reach of my own mental processes, when I wrote my book. His main contention is that human nature *can* be changed to-day, because it *has* been changed enormously within historic times by the influences of civilization. What has been done in fundamental fashion once, can obviously be done as fundamentally again. In primitive days, men were prevailingly simple and friendly. They inherited from their animal progenitors certain instincts of gregariousness, co-operation, creative activity, which, in deepened or sublimated form, made them fellow-members one of another in a peaceful society. Then came the pressure of population on subsistence, warfare, slavery, private property, surplus wealth, with their resulting passions of lust to "have" and lust to "enjoy." Civilization, with its twin evils of possession and pleasure, "got" us, and thus made over our human nature into the selfish, sensual, brutal thing that we see all about us to-day. The author calls this the real "Fall of Man," and he challenges the age to save itself ere it be too late. We must change ourselves back into what we once were by transforming our society—by finding what Edward Carpenter has called "the cause and cure of civilization." The author feels certain that it can be done by trained and inspired leadership. That it will be done, is another matter.

Mr. Lawson's book makes no show of learning—there are few quotations or citations to authorities, and no footnotes. But it leaps from a full mind that has mastered its subject and can therefore use its data simply and easily. The style is popular, with a delightful vein of humor, and occasional bursts of prophetic passion which show the flaming depths of indignation from which the message springs. We read the book at a single sitting with absorbed interest and exceeding gratitude.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The New Galsworthy Play†

This is a poor play, redeemed only by a last act of genuine dramatic power. The writing is excellent, of course, the characterization acute, the satire on British imperialism bitter and not unjust. But a fatal weakness is the division of scene and action between a London business office and the African jungles, and the lack of any real connection between the two. The second and third acts, set in Africa, might well be parts of an entirely different play from the first and fourth. Furthermore, these second and third acts are melodrama of a lamentably familiar character. Fever, thirst, the forest, the half-breed girl, ambush, the last stand—they are all there, with nothing new to lend them distinction or even interest. After such masterpieces as "Loyalties" and "The Skin Game," one is tempted to wonder if this is not an old play started before the war, put aside, and just now taken up again. One is the more persuaded to this idea by the fact that the whole tone and atmosphere, as well as plot, of the drama belong to that late nineteenth-century England which now seems as ancient as Napoleon.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

* "You *Can* Change It," by Charles Lawson, published by D. Appleton, New York.

† "The Forest," by John Galsworthy, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Book Notices

"Nature in American Literature," by Norman Foerster. The Macmillan Co., N. Y.

A study of nine eminent authors, showing the *naturalistic movement* in American poetry from Bryant to Whitman, including an analysis of Whittier, Lowell, and Lanier; and in the prose of Emerson, Thoreau, Muir, Burroughs.

"The Holy Spirit and the Church," by Charles Gore. Charles Scribner's Sons.

An effort to justify the traditional beliefs of the church by an appeal to reason and free inquiry.

"The Next Step," by Scott Nearing. Published by Nellie Seeds Nearing, Ridgewood, N. J.

An outline of a co-operative world order based on economic and industrial rather than political and geographical units.

"Creative Revolution," by T. V. Vaswani. Ganesh and Co., Madras.

Brief essays on the non-co-operative movement in India.

"Then and Now in Education," by Caldwell. Courtis, World Book Co., Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.

A comparative study of the educational program and methods of 1845, as revealed by the Boston survey of that year, with those of 1919, as revealed by the Boston survey of this date; together with valuable suggestions for the education of the future.

—C. W. R.

"If you have no right to work you have no right to life, because you can only live by work. And if you live in a system that denies you the right to work, that system denies you the right to live. Now man has a right to life because he is here. That is sufficient proof, and if he has the right to life it follows that he has the right to all the means that sustain life. But how is it in this outgrown capitalist system? A workingman can only work on condition that he finds somebody who will give him permission to work for just enough of what his labor produces to keep him in working order."
—*Eugene V. Debs.*

CORRESPONDENCE

A LETTER FROM AN AMERICAN IN GERMANY

". . . of conditions as they exist in Germany, I can state little or nothing from personal observation, as a 'Bade Ort' is scarcely a thermometer at which to register the economic health of a country when, as in our case, you count the working class the main artery. But I never miss an opportunity to talk with business men, of whom there are hundreds here, and the concensus of opinion seems to be that, if the Reutermark, under which they operate at present, can be maintained, and if the Ruhr is vacated, Germany will slowly but surely regain her equilibrium. All are agreed, however, that this will be one of the severest winters through which the working class of Germany has passed. Unemployment and the extremely high cost of living make it inevitable that many will succumb from lack of food and warm clothes. Of course, I need not tell you that the brain-worker is the hardest hit. . ."

B.

A FRIEND PROTESTS

Dear UNITY:

In Mr. Dawes's masterly address at Milwaukee, he said, "Does Mr. LaFollette think the people are fools?" The same question might be asked of you, a true disciple. Do you think the people of New England are all fools? For the third time in UNITY you have staged your famous "myth" concerning Coolidge. We in Massachusetts and New England know what took place here—you know nothing about it except what the yellow journals you read say. You say Coolidge left Massachusetts as he found it. After three years as Governor, that is considerable, as many men in office don't leave things as well as they found them. If you will read that excellent book on Coolidge which Whiting wrote, you will find that no Governor of Massachusetts did more constructive work than Coolidge. You think we are all fools. You like noise. Coolidge is quiet. The still small voice is quite as effective as the blatant orator.

You are too sure of the western states. Only one state is sure for LaFollete—the German state of Wisconsin. You remember the anti-slavery people tried to side-track Lincoln for Fremont, because Lincoln was too slow about slavery. Lincoln was sane—they were insane on one subject, and such fine people as Wendell Phillips and Elizabeth C. Stanton took sides against Lincoln. History shows who were right. To-day a few very excellent people like Jane Addams and Norman Hapgood want to do in a year what takes many years to accomplish. You are willing to associate with the riff-raff of the country to gain your ends. History will again show who are right. . . .

Cheer up! Find something good to write about in UNITY. You are getting terribly critical. There are a few noble acts occurring in our beloved country—almost as fine as in Russia. Keep cool with Coolidge.

Boston, Massachusetts. U. S.

THE QUAKER REVIVAL

Editor of UNITY:

Dear Friend:

. . . Recent accounts of the London yearly meeting of the Friends, held in Wales this year, indicate a return to the characteristics of the early creative period of Quakerism. Among other things, they abolished *the recording of ministers!* The idea is to build up a real inspirational and spontaneous ministry in the meetings. But the reason they can take this step now is that they already have a group of cultured and lively people conducting the affairs of the society. This is the result of the splendid educational work done in the society twenty-five years before the war. It *was not the war* that brought the new life to the society, but the result of a vision of a group of young men and *their work* long before the war was dreamed of. They were ready for the war. They knew the foundations of their faith. American Quakerism is beginning to wake up, but chiefly through the influence of English Friends.

Boston, Mass. ELEANOR WOOD WHITMAN.

IGNORANCE FAVORS FILIPINO INDEPENDENCE

Editor of UNITY:

Just a few words, in wishing you all success, to register a strong dissent from your "orthodox Liberal" policy in favor of Filipino independence—based on ignorance of the true situation. The ostensible sympathy with the aspirations of a "liberty loving people" actually means the delivery of that people over to the tyranny of an oligarchy of corrupt and unscrupulous politicians who simply seek free rein to plunder at their own sweet will. I know what I am talking about.

Sincerely yours,
SYLVESTER BAXTER.

WAR NOT CHRISTIAN

Editor of UNITY:

This is to acknowledge that your magazine, UNITY, has been coming regularly to my address, as per my subscription.

In connection herewith I wish to say that you are publishing a very good magazine in UNITY, and there is no doubt that it admirably fills a certain fundamental want.

After reading a few copies, one is convinced that you are making an especial effort to assist in effecting *peace* on this war-ridden earth; or at least do away with the wars, or the war idea. I find that in the early days of this country, about in 1852, people were not at all afraid to write against the war idea. Let me quote you from a representative American agricultural publication of 1852, which recently fell into my hands, in which a writer, after setting forth how wrong it is for one people to make war upon another, sums up his views in the following manner:—"To sum up my views, I can sincerely affirm that I believe that all wars and fightings, whether offensive or defensive, are wrong in the Divine sight, and are positively and unreservedly prohibited by the precepts of Jesus; consequently that no true Christian can encourage or engage in them."

The editor of the same publication paraphrases the article with the appropriate title:—"War, an Anti-Christian Practice."

In the same article a quotation is also given by one "Marce Nus," to the effect:—"It is not lawful for a Christian to bear arms for any earthly consideration."

According to these ancient American doctrines, and according to your magazine, UNITY, it appears that all the peoples recently or now engaged in war are not Christians. And I was under the impression that they were all Christians. It seems that, notwithstanding this progressive age and the work of all the churches, etc., there is a great deal to be done to bring real Christianity before the people of this and other countries.

By the way, sirs, I'd like to know where I may obtain a real genuine history of the teachings of Jesus Christ and the early Christians, in English language. I am acquainted with the organized church view of this matter; also with the orthodox Jewish view. But it seems there is a third view. Thanking you for your best efforts in this direction, I am,

Peacefully yours,
LEWIS W. FEUER.

[In answer to your question, may I suggest Adolph Harnack's readable and authoritative work, "What Is Christianity?"—J. H. H.]

A QUERY

Dear UNITY:

Here is a pleasant grist just received from Los Angeles this morning.* Is it possible that the millions will *not* vote for La Follette and Wheeler, or are they in ignorance of what is going on in the United States in 1924? I wish you had a circulation of *millions* to reach these *millions* who wear the white collars and are satisfied with our measure of liberties.

EDWARD CHICHESTER WENTWORTH.

[*Civil Liberties Union pamphlets, etc., telling of injustices and persecutions in California.—ED.]

HEROES

Not they who storm the battled height
Amid the fires of wrath,
But they who through the fearful night
Can keep Love's shining path.

The Christian Century. —*Thomas Curtis Clark.*

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PLATFORM OF THE COMMONWEALTH LAND PARTY

That any attempt to adjust the glaring and evident inequalities and injustices of our present economic system by the taxing of incomes is a fallacy, is communistic in principle and must remain wholly ineffective to rectify such inequalities, as it leaves undisturbed the source from which all unjustly obtained incomes are derived; whereas the collection of the rent of land for public purposes, wherever it appears or whatever its nature, would stop unearned incomes at their source and would at the same time protect all honestly acquired wealth and hold it secure against confiscation through taxation.

That the violation of natural law cannot go unpunished; that the diversion of the Rent of Land into private pockets and away from public use is a violation of natural law, and that the evils arising out of our unjust economic system are the penalties that follow such violation as effect follows cause.

That none of the other political parties, Republican, Democratic or Socialist, appears as the opponent of unearned wealth or incomes obtained from land ownership, which is the foundation of monopoly, nor as the defender of wealth honestly acquired from labor, industry, enterprise, talent or invention.

We therefore demand that the full rent of land be collected by the government in place of all direct and indirect taxes and that all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor or intellect, be entirely exempt from taxation.

Furthermore, we pledge ourselves to formulate into law such measures as will make effective these demands, to the end that the cause of all economic evils will be forever abolished and economic freedom for all be forever assured.

Taking the full rent of land for public purposes insures the fullest and best use of all land. In cities this would mean more homes and more places to do business and therefore lower rents. In rural communities it would mean the freedom of the farmer from land mortgages and would guarantee him full possession of his entire product at a small land rental to the government without the payment of any taxes. It would prevent the holding of mines idle for the purpose of monopoly and would immensely increase the production and therefore greatly lower the price of mine products.

Land can be used only by the employment of labor. Putting land to its fullest and best use would create an unlimited demand for labor. With an unlimited demand for labor, the job would seek the man, not the man seek the job, and labor would receive its full share of the product.

All labor and industry depend basically on land, and only in the measure that land is attainable can labor and industry be prosperous. The taking of the full rent of land for public purposes would put and keep all land forever in use to the fullest extent of the people's needs.

As a result of the increased production that would follow the freeing of the earth to the use of man, there would be more food, more clothing and more shelter.

The freeing from taxation of all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor and intellect, will encourage men to build and to produce, will reward them for their efforts to improve the land, to produce wealth and to render the services that the people need, instead of penalizing them for these efforts as taxation does now.

It will put an end to legalized robbery by the government which now pries into men's private affairs and exacts fines and penalties in the shape of tolls and taxes on every evidence of man's industry and thrift.

If the full rent of land were taken for public expenses, the sum now taken for Federal, State and local taxes, amounting approximately to $7,500,000,000 annually, would for the most part remain in the possession of the people, as would also the value of the then enormously increased production (many times that amount), and together these would provide the increased return to labor and to industry.

With real and permanent prosperity assured to all and unearned fortunes denied to all, the evils due to the present unjust economic system would disappear. Man would then express the better and higher qualities within him; good would take the place of evil; learning and culture would replace ignorance and crime; health would supplant disease; vice would vanish and early and healthy marriages would make possible happy and contented homes.

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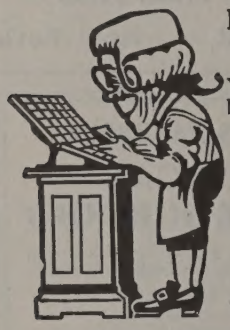
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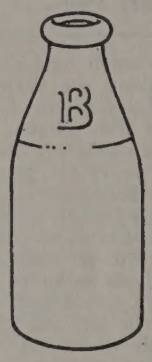
Out of the darkness of the past, the mate of the bludgeon and the spear, a product of the power of might and the rule of the sword, born of greed, nurtured by robbery and murder throughout the ages, and carrying ever in its wake the ravaging and plunder of the people, the devastation of their countries and the impoverishment of the race, comes the private ownership of land—the fount of all evil, the destroyer of mankind.

No structure built in violation of natural law can stand; civilization built in such violation must fall; other civilizations have gone down; the foundations of this civilization are crumbling.

If civilization is to live, private ownership of land must go. If private ownership of land continues, this civilization is doomed.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